4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

756 snake doctors, though demonstrations are seldom made in the regular ceremonies. The members claim absolute immunity from rattlesnake bites and [825] complete power over the reptile himself. They will seize any snake they meet and handle it without fear. No wands or instruments are used, nothing but the hands. The writer has frequently observed snakes handled in this way. According to reports they are able to cure all suffering from snake bites.

Blood Doctors.

There was formerly a group of medicinemen known as kura patu (blood doctors). They were, however, considered as otter men, or an otter society. They seem to have been composed of five groups of dancers, each marching through the camp separately. Women accompanied them, bearing wooden bowls and spoons on their backs. In this manner the five groups proceeded independently to the lodge of the two leaders of the ceremonies where an altar had been prepared. When a group reached the lodge they paused and sang; the leaders on the inside then sang and danced, bearing otterskins in their right hands. After the dance the two leaders came out to receive the guests in their arms.

[789] The chief feature of a ceremony was the shamanistic vomiting of a red liquid like blood. This was collected in bowls and used to paint the bodies and otterskins of those present.

The Iruska.

There was a very powerful medicine society among the Chauí known as the pitararis iruska. However, the Pitahauírata division was also repre- [794] sented in this society, they having the south side and the Chauí the north. The Skidí had the same ceremony except that they used dog meat in the kettle instead of buffalo. Also, the Skidí did not have the two forms of painting, only one, painted black at the joints. The purpose of the dance was to show the power of the members to extinguish the life in the fire, hence the name. Among the Skidí at least, the term iruska has a symbolic or double meaning. The idea is literally "the fire is in me" and the symbolic meaning is that "I can extinguish the life in the fire," or can overcome the [752] powers of other medicines. The members of the society were doctors for they treated burns.

539 Originally, the society consisted of leaders of various animal medicine 756 societies. Among the members was one who was not a medicineman until he had a curious experience. The story follows:—

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Other important plant foods were the turkey pea, wild plum, wild cherry, Jerusalem artichoke, and the chokecherry. Of these all save the first have been found in the Hill site and have been definitely identified as to species. Others were probably used from time to time, but no record of them has survived, either archeological or documentary.

Eight species of plants have been found represented at the Hill site.[55]

Brauneria angustifolia or *Echinacea angustifolia*.
Wild plum (*Prunus americana*).
Flint corn (*Zea mays*).
Hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*).
Chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*).
Wild potato (*Apios tuberosa*).
Bush summer squash (*Cucurbita pepo melopepo*).
Chenopodium sp. (apparently *Chenopodium nuttalliae*).

To these we may add 10 species as given by Dunbar.[56]

Wild potato (*Ipomoea pandurata*).
Wild turnip (*Arisaema triphyllum*).
Pomme blanche (*Psoralea esculenta*).
Ground bean (*Apios tuberosa*).
Cucumber root (*Medeola virginica*).
Artichoke (*Helianthus doronicoides*).
Ground plum (*Astragalus caryocarpus*).
Umbels of milkweed (*Asclepias cornuti*).
Mushroom (sp. unidentified).
Sand cherry (sp. not given).

The complete report on botanical specimens from the Hill site, as identified by Dr. Gilmore, is as follows:

No. 1. Five small pieces of the root of *Brauneria angustifolia* (*Echinacea angustifolia*). The root of this was very highly esteemed by the Pawnee and other tribes within its range, for numerous medicinal uses, especially as a remedy for the bite of rattlesnakes.

No. 2. Four pits of wild plum (*Prunus americana*). The wild plum was highly valued for food use, and was eaten in considerable quantities fresh and uncooked, and was cooked for sauce. It was also preserved for winter use by drying.

No. 3. Six charred grains of flint corn.

No. 4. A number of pits of hackberry (*Celtis occidentalis*). The sugary fruits of hackberry were eaten from hand with pleasure by all, and especially by children. They were also reduced to pulp with a stone hammer, and the resulting paste was used as a flavoring in cooking meat.

No. 5. One pit of chokecherry (*Prunus virginiana*), and four small, spherical insect galls, apparently the galls which were common on the prairie rose (*Rosa pratincola*).

[55] From the Hill collection, Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. The specimens were identified by Dr. M. R. Gilmore of the University of Michigan. Letter of Apr. 10, 1931 (see also pl. 2, a-e).

[56] 1880, b, pp. 323–324.

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buffalo. They were Mad Bear, White, and Old Man Beaver Tree. While the camp was moving to Noisy Water, these three men had gone to the south and west. Mad Bear was sure he saw a Sioux, but White tried to make light of it. Old Man Beaver Tree thought they had better go and see. The Sioux scout was about a half a mile away and as they approached he turned back down the hill. When they got to the top he was riding away far to the west. They made various plans and then decided to cross the creek and as the old man said, "If anything happens, we can go into the timber." This party ended in disaster as they were surrounded by a Sioux war party and White and Old Man Beaver Tree were killed. Mad Bear and the old man shot point-blank at the approaching enemy, but the old man was struck in the leg and simply sat down in the path and piled his bow and arrow before him to await his fate. Later his body was found by the Pawnees on their way to their encampment. Of himself Mad Bear said,

> I could see the old man sitting there. As I got among the willows along the creek, they shot me in the right shoulder blade. My bow and arrows dropped. I couldn't hold anything. My arm was just swinging. I held my bow and arrows in my left hand. If they had seen it, they would have killed me, but when I got among the willows they thought I was all right. After a while I heard some growling. Then the Pawnees were coming singing. I got up and saw a great many passing by. The Sioux had gone quite a way off.

They put his arm in a sling when they found him and later managed to heal him.

Old Man Beaver Tree lay dead on the other side of the creek. They never found White. It was suspected that he had been scalped, and even if he had survived this harrowing experience would have been ashamed to come home, as "he had no hair." He would have to make himself a dugout to live in.

The official scouts had seen these happenings from a distant hill where they were and suspected someone had been killed. When they got to the camp at Noisy Water, the scouts were very discouraged. They said, "We ought to go the other way. It's going to be that way. This time of year the Cheyenne, Arapaho, any tribe, go running around on the warpath." They decided they would move one more camp west and then go back to the north bank of the Republican River (*Kiraruta*). The new camp was a short distance, about seven miles along (Post Hunt Camp 3). The night before it was decided that the official scouts had done them no good and the head policeman, Strikes-the-Enemy, appointed three young men. They climbed a tall hill and all along the valley below they saw the buffalo. It was somewhat to the northwest and ten miles or less

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it to them. Everyone went to bed early, for next day they would be picking the beans in No Corn's field and this meant another day of back-breaking work.

Sixth day. All during this time young men would go out very early in the morning with their bow and arrows to act as sentinels, watching particularly for the Sioux, who lurked about to attack women going to and from the fields. Victory Call always took along his bow and arrows should there be a surprise attack. The Skidi fields were located northwest of the villages. Going out early in the morning, one could see the boys picketing about on the high bluff to the west. That morning as they looked up at a big hill west of Genoa, they would also see someone stationed, scouting around for the enemy. The night before Mad Bear and another man had made up their minds to do this. Before dawn they climbed the high bluff west of Beaver Creek and sat down and looked toward where they were roasting corn. "Look at that smoke. Afterward, we can get some corn," they said. Their legs were hanging over the bluff. There was a little creek that ran from the southwest into Beaver Creek running parallel with the edge of the bluff where the two men were sitting, and a Sioux had been hiding in a trough and watching them. The two men were talking about the cherries on the side of the bluff and the big yellow plums in the bottom and how they would eat them next day. As they were talking, they heard the Sioux making a noise like a crow.

Later Mad Bear told his story. "I got frightened and I never thought of my bow and arrows. I was transfixed with fear when I saw all of them. But all at once I got over it. The other man didn't get over it. We ran down the bluff to the creek. The other man left his bow and arrows there." Mad Bear continued: "I don't see why the other fellow left me and ran away to get under the brush. The Sioux caught him. As I ran down the bluff, I felt a shot through my back. It came out of my chest, but I got into the water anyway and they let me go. The other fellow had disappeared." We looked in the water for him but couldn't find him. Long after when someone came back to Nebraska, they thought they saw him and he had been scalped and was ashamed to come back.

The Pawnees took Mad Bear over the creek and he was doctored by Heavy-Trophies and Herd-of-Horses. As Mad Bear described it, "The doctor put his mouth against mine and blew some water with some medicine in it into my mouth and made me swallow it. I had been sleepy all along, but this woke me up. Then they gave me some medicine to chew and water to drink and I felt better and never worried about it again. I sent the doctors home." Finally the Pawnees came out and killed a big tall Sioux. His bones remained there a long time

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752 726 afterward. One Sioux was killed and one Pawnee killed or scalped. This is why Mad Bear was known as a brave man, heedless of any danger to himself, like a boy, a *piraski.*

244 512 All the time that this struggle was going on, Victory Call, White Woman, and No Corn were in No Corn's field picking beans. Horse Rider had had to go quite a way to find the horses and when he got back to camp to saddle them, they had left him a bite of breakfast and then he joined them in the field. First he inspected the pumpkins and then they all went around picking up the vines, and when a vine wrapped around a cornstalk, they had to look all around for the ripe pods. This took until noon and on the way home they took a swim in the creek. Arriving at camp, they prepared a modest lunch of bread, coffee, and bits of ready-
244 512 cooked meat saved in a sack for such purposes—pieces of dried heart, leg muscle, pieces of paunch, fat, etc. They called this *tsuspakahu.* They
262 264 opened the sack and dumped the pieces of meat on a spread and simply picked up one and ate it with the bread and coffee. Sometimes they had pulverized dried meat, *tapaharus,* with some bone grease instead of the meat. They decided to have the same kind of meal in the evening, as their backs ached from picking the beans. After the meal, the newly
244 512 251 picked beans were spread out to dry, and about three in the afternoon White Woman decided that her beans were dry enough to thresh with the long willow stick to get the beans out of the pods. Victory Call wandered up to the store and Horse Rider either went to the gambling grounds or just sat on a bluff smoking and looking around. The women kept working with the beans.

512 439 That evening, Victory Call came in with supplies from the store for supper: prunes, dry apples and some candy sticks for Otter—a gift of the trader. People had seen Victory Call coming in while they were at the gambling grounds watching the game, and they decided to come over and have some dinner there. War Cry's younger brother, Brave Shield, and Wants-the-Enemy dropped in for a visit. Some decided to visit with Misery (*Akapakis*) instead, and White Woman felt slighted because the youngest brother of War Cry, Leading Fox, had decided to go there as also had Sun Chief, Victory Call's older son. She scolded Leading Fox saying, "Why don't you come in. People will think I don't take care of you." "Well," he said, "the boys wanted me to come with them." She remarked about Sun Chief to Victory Call who reassured her saying, "That's nothing. You have to watch girls, but you can't keep boys home like that."

512 791 756 At dinner, Brave Shield mentioned that some of the Kitkehahki doctors were preparing to go back into the earth lodges to prepare for the forthcoming doctor dances. Victory Call said that it was a bit too early. It was better to finish the work so that they didn't have all this rub-

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THE DOCTORS CURE THE BOY OTTER

Otter Breaks His Leg—the Doctors Consulted—Their Remedies—the Boy's Instructions for Healing the Wound—Additional Treatments—the Release of the Boy from the Sickness—an Informal Feast—the Gifts to the Doctors

WHEN THE BOY OTTER was about twelve years old, his father Victory Call had died and White Woman was remarried to Shot Arm, who undertook to be a father to the boy. His uncle War Cry continued to take an active interest in his welfare. One fall while they were in the village he was riding on the east road when he fell off the horse and broke the small bone (fibula) of his left leg near the ankle and near the knee. "It all started," he said, "because I had stepped on the ground with that leg where lightning had struck the earth. I thought I was smart!"

The leg was very painful throughout the fall and winter, and then in the spring he was thrown off the horse again. In July his parents called in Old-Man-That-Chief to try to cure him. The old man pressed his thumb against the leg and took out a rock and he thought this was the cause of the pain. But gave up trying to treat it as he didn't seem to be able to do any more with it.

Now while they were out on the summer hunt, the boy stepped into a gopher hole, but he thought nothing further of it. He just went on and caught a bird in the creek and later in the day when he got home he was covered with hives. He felt pretty bad and when his older "brother" Misery asked him what was the matter, he told him that his left leg hurt him. Misery called in Wonderful Old Bull, one of the four leading doctors of the Doctor Lodge, who arrived with four splints tied around with four straps of tanned bison hide that he put around the leg and ankle. But this

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did not help and Wonderful Old Bull gave up, saying that if he continued to try to doctor the boy, he would lose him. So Misery himself tried his own four splints, and because he had power from the deer they were fastened together with tanned deer hide straps. Meanwhile he spoke to the boy of old times and urged him to try to get well. But as soon as the leg would heal, the bone would start coming out again.

Now his uncle, War Cry, took a hand and told his adopted father that Old-Man-Good-Land was a good bone and leg doctor. Good Land was called in on the case and he came with his son-in-law, White Fox, who was his assistant. White Fox came in whistling about and saying, "Clean the room and fix a bed." Good-Land and White Fox sat down next to the boy, one one each side of him, blew some medicine on the leg and tied it up loosely with a clean cloth. When they left, they gave instructions that the boy was to be closely watched so that he did not handle any knives. But the boy had a wooden spool and he wanted to make a little top of it to spin on his hand. War Cry's wife was sitting nearby cutting out a moccasin pattern with a knife and the boy took it against the doctor's orders to make his top.

Now War Cry was considering cutting off the leg, but the boy said he would rather die with his leg than have a short one. He began to get angry and desperate and one day he saw the bone sticking out and he began to pull on it, but it hurt too much and he felt a choking in his throat and so he pushed it back.

When White Fox came back he sniffed about as if he smelled something bad and said something wrong must have happened. The boy confessed about handling the knife against his orders and when they unwrapped the leg it was all swollen. The doctor wanted to leave the case. But War Cry taunted him. Otter was classificatory son to White Fox and War Cry threw it up to him saying, "He's only your son, of course, and if he dies it really doesn't matter!"

Many of the people had gone off on the winter hunt and War Cry urged White Woman and her husband to go along, remaining behind in the village himself to keep the boy warm in the earth lodge and take care of him. When White Fox had gone, Otter confessed to War Cry how he had tried to pull out the bone. War Cry scolded him and accused him of not wanting to get well and of deliberately hindering the doctors. "Well," the boy answered, "My mother and father have gone off on the winter hunt and left me, so they don't care for me anyway." War Cry again scolded him and reminded him of the fact that it was he, War Cry, who had urged Otter's parents to go and that he had elected to stay home just because he wanted to nurse Otter and protect him. He said that the boy ought to get well before his parents got back and surprise them and that then they would be glad.

Next day old doctor Good-Land came in and War Cry told him the

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whole story. The old doctor gave him some plants to chew, saying, "You're a man and it won't hurt you. Just take the medicine." Then he told him to turn his head aside and pulled out the bone that was sticking out. He cooked some leaves in water and where the hole was in his left leg, he blew some of the water in. He blew it in again and again and each time he asked his assistant if the water was clear. Finally it was. The old doctor said to the boy, "Young man, your leg will be well in two weeks." Finally the boy did get well except that the leg was somewhat crippled and this distressed his mother, White Woman, very much. Shot Arm mixed some grease with red paint and other medicines and rubbed it well into the leg. In a week or so the leg was better and the boy could walk again. He had suffered a year and a half, falling twice off a horse and stepping into a gopher hole and he had been in danger of having his leg amputated or of losing his life. Now at last he was healed.

For his treatment, Good-Land had been promised a fee of two horses, one from his uncle War Cry and one from his stepfather, Shot Arm, and a quantity of other goods, i.e., three blankets, some squaw cloth to make ladies' dresses, and some red shawls such as were issued by the government at that time. Before he had begun his treatment War Cry had said to the doctor, "If you doctor him, there's a horse over here for you." And Shot Arm said, "If you doctor him, there's also a horse here for you, and some goods." It was a very good fee. One could compare a horse to an automobile in our terms.

One evening the doctor and his assistant announced to War Cry, "Tomorrow sometime I'm going to quit the case. He's all right. He's getting well." As soon as he heard this, War Cry sent one of his wives to call in White Woman and Shot Arm. They would have to have the fee ready for payment next day. But before that, the doctor would release the boy psychologically from his illness. That evening four doctors would come in to sit down at the patient's bed and "sing to set him free." Big Doctor and Pipe Offering, the leaders of the Doctor Lodge were called in to join Good Land and White Fox who had treated the case.

The boy was wrapped in a tent skin and lain crosswise west of the fireplace, his head toward the south and his feet toward the north. The big doctors came in with their gourd rattles and sat at his feet ranged from west to east—Good Land westernmost, White Fox next to him, and then Big Doctor and Pipe Offering. At his head on the south side were his adopted father, Shot Arm, uncle War Cry, and White Woman. Ranged further along the north side were other doctors who had come to witness the ceremony. Good Land addressed Shot Arm, White Woman, and War Cry saying, "The songs that the animals have, these medicine bundles here, the gourd rattles and the eagle-wing fans, are all going to hear their songs through which Otter had been made to get up. Now he is going to get well. It is these songs that we are about to hear that made

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752 756 533 him well. Now we're going to start to sing." Together in unison the four doctors sing:

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First song:	Here, here, they got him to get up.
Second song:	They got him up and going about.
Third song:	They (our forefathers) said, that they (the animals) could get him up.
Fourth song:	Now as they, the old doctors said, they have raised him up.

Now they pause and smoke and then take up their gourd rattles and [539] sing again:

1. "When first I came, the bone was broken.
2. "I had to use the eagle wing (*kauk'tu*, "down").
3. "The bone was broken. Just as they told me to do when a bone is broken, one must use soft down feathers.
4. "I call you back now, old doctors of long long ago; when a bone is broken, you can heal it."

They sang three more songs, making eight in all and then they said, "Now we're through."

756 574 Now they would all be entertained at an informal meal prepared by War Cry's youngest wife, Bird Woman. While it was being served, War Cry and his wives took the host's position at the southeast of the lodge, while the others remained in their places. A woman carried one bowl of food to each of the doctors in succession and then to Shot Arm and White Woman at the west, and all the others, and finally the hosts. A little bread and coffee was at last given to the patient himself. While they were eating people told funny stories or recounted some familiar incidents. Then they went home.

The next evening Good-Land entertained the other doctors in his earth lodge at an informal feast upon the completion of his case and the receipt of his fee. A gift of a blanket was made to Big Doctor and a shawl to Pipe Offering by way of compensation for their participation in the previous night's ceremony. Either that morning or earlier in the evening White Woman had come to Good-Land's lodge, leading the two horses, while one of War Cry's wives was carrying the goods. They were greeted by a woman of the house who came outside, and White Woman said simply, "Here are the horses and the goods to pay for his cure" (*iri-wiraawirara*, "that which he has earned or won"). White Woman and her companion turned around and left and the woman of the house tied up the horses and took the goods inside the lodge and piled it up to the east of the fireplace. When the doctors were assembled, Good-Land addressed

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OBJECTS OF WOOD FOR THE HOME

Women Made the Wood Objects for Home Use —Scarcity of Wood—Making the Wooden Bowl, Ladles, Spoons, Mortar, Pestle, Digging Iron, Tent Pegs, Bracket for Hanging Pots over Fire, Tipi Poles

462 322 WOMEN WERE THE MAIN MANUFACTURERS of objects made of wood. Not only did they gather the fuel and the building materials, but they also made all the objects of general utility in the household. The men were directly concerned only with those things that were for their own immediate use—their weapons and their ceremonial objects. In no other group that I know of, except among the Woodland Indians, are the women the woodsmen and the woodcrafters to the extent that they were among the Pawnees. Like other lumbermen in the world, Pawnee [752] [761] women would sometimes be killed while felling trees, and a story is told of a woman responsible for another woman's death in such an accident who grieved so deeply that she wandered off never to be seen again.

137 462 313 In the Pawnee prairie plains country, the only place that trees grow is along the streams, and in the distance one can readily identify the rivers and streams by the green belt of trees that grow along their banks. This limited distribution of the trees meant that the women often had to travel considerable distances to get the wood they needed. In 1867 they had to have military protection. How matters stood earlier is not known. They [492] [774] also had the advantage of horse transport. The likelihood is that in the past their dogs had this function and a good deal was packed on their backs, water-floated, or simply dragged over the country. When women 313 went to the woods they took their pack ropes which they also made into

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796 756 372 An intensive "twenty-day" doctors' ceremony was also held in the other three South Bands at this time, although they apparently did not model the figure of the water monster. It was called by them *tawaru-kutsu*, "sleight-of-hand-big." (Murie, 1914, p. 602).

756 373 See Murie, 1914, pp. 600-616, on private doctor cults as distinct from those with tribal or social functions.

796 241 [574] [782] [184] The Iruska or War Dance was performed in spring in May, but preparations had to be made for it in the fall in order to get the necessary buffalo meat for the banquets and more especially in order to raise a puppy for sacrifice. Murie has a long and detailed account of the vision of Crow Feather who directed the ceremony (pp. 606-616). According to Murie, this was an important ceremony of the Tsawi and Pitahawirata bands, the two collaborating—the Tsawi taking the north position, the Pitahawirata, the south. This ceremony was especially to shield a person from fire and to give knowledge of how to cure burns. Apparently the people were at times trapped in the earth lodges which were burned by the enemy. Interestingly, the first instigation of the vision was the handling of the hot ears of corn as they were roasting in the fire at harvest time.

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824 825 171 377 On the possible identity of the plant snake shot, *rut-patsat*, we have no data. Gilmore, 1919, pp. 110-111 mentions the dodder or love vine, *Cuscuta Paradoxa* Raf. A Mexican living at Pine Ridge, North Dakota mentioned that his people call it rattlesnake food and say that rattlesnakes take it into their dens for food. Another plant connected with snakes mentioned in this source as "snake food" is bittersweet, *Celastrus scandens* L., known to the Dakota as *zuzecha-to-wote*," snake-genitive-food." An Omaha called it snake food and held the notion that it was poisonous (Gilmore, 1919, p. 102).

372 482 280, 290 Pearl Caesar, Fox Indian of Tama, Iowa, gives the following estimates on wood for fuel: for ¼ cord of wood, about 2 cubic feet, which was a back load according to Mark Evarts, according to Pearl Caesar, the cubic foot referred to would be one armload. Two armloads could be carried on the back. Four armloads would last 24 hours from breakfast to breakfast, plus two big logs. Thus, according to Mark Evarts' reckoning, eight armloads would equal one cord of wood. Evarts: In the fall, 6-7 cords would last about a month if it was still rather warm. In two haulings, they would get about 10 lengths of thicker logs of cottonwood about 5 inches in diameter, 4 ft. long. In coldest winter, thicker logs were taken, about 20 days' supply in the coldest weather. They would get small stuff when it was warmer.

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727 305 Incident described in North, 1859, pp. 39-58, the scalping taking place during the Sioux raid as the women were coming home